The Virginia Journal AND ALEXANDRIA ADVERTISER.

HUC UNDIQUE GAZA CONGERITUR VIR

(VOL. I.) THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1784. (No. 8.)

A LETTER *from* PHOCION *to the* CONSIDERATE CITIZENS *of* NEW-YORK, *on the* POLITICS *of the* DAY.

WHILE not only every perſonal artifice is employed by a few heated and inconſiderate ſpirits, to practiſe upon the paſſions of the people, but the public papers are made the channel of the moſt inflammatory and pernicious doctrines, tending to the ſubverſion of all private ſecurity and genuine liberty; it would be culpable in thoſe who underſtand and value the true intereſts of the community to be ſilent ſpectators. It is, however, a common obſervation, that men, bent upon miſchief, are more active in the purſuit of their object, than thoſe who aim at doing good. Hence it is in the preſent moment, we ſee the moſt induſtrious efforts to violate the conſtitution of this ſtate, to trample upon the rights of the ſubject, and to chicane or infringe the moſt ſolemn obligations of treaty; while diſpaſſionate and upright men almoſt totally neglect the means of counteracting theſe dangerous attempts. A ſenſe of duty alone calls forth the obſervations which will be ſubmitted to the good ſenſe of the people in this paper, from one who has more inclination than leiſure to ſerve them; and who has had too deep a ſhare in the common exertions in this revolution, to be willing to ſee its fruits blaſted by the violence of raſh or unpricipled men, without at leaſt proteſting againſt their deſigns.

The perſons alluded to, pretend to appeal to the ſpirit of Whiggiſm, while they endeavour to put in motion all the furious and dark paſſions of the human mind. The ſpirit of Whiggiſm, is generous, humane, beneficent, and juſt. Theſe men inculcate revenge, cruelty, perſecution, and perfidy. The ſpirit of Whiggiſm cheriſhes legal liberty, holds the rights of every individual ſacred, condemns or puniſhes no man without regular trial and conviction of ſome crime declared by antecedent laws, reprobates equally the puniſhment of the citizen by abitrary acts of legiſlature, as by the lawleſs combinations of unauthorized individuals:—While theſe men are advocates for expelling a large number of their fellow-citizens unheard, untried; or if they cannot effect this, are for diſfranchiſing them, in the face of the conſtitution, without the judgment of their peers, and contrary to the law of the land.

The 13th article of the conſtitution declares, "that no member of this ſtate ſhall be *diſfranchiſed* or *defrauded of any of the rights or privileges* "ſacred to the ſubjects of this ſtate by the conſtitution, unleſs *by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.*" If we enquire what is meant by the law of the land, the beſt commentators will tell us, that it means *due proceſs of law, that is, by indictment or preſentment of good lawful men,* * and trial and conviction in conſequence.

It is true, that *in England*, on extraordinary occaſions, attainders for high treaſon, by act of Parliament have been practiſed, but many of the ableſt advocates for civil liberty have condemned this practice, and it has commonly been exerciſed with great caution upon individuals only by name, never againſt *general deſcriptions* of men. The ſenſe of our conſtitution on this practice, we may gather from the 41ſt article, where all attainders, other than for crimes committed during the late war, are forbidden.

If there had been no treaty in the way, the legiſlature might by *name*, have attainted particular perſons of high treaſon for crimes committed during the war, but independent of the treaty it could not, and cannot, without tyranny, diſfranchiſe or puniſh whole claſſes of citizens by general diſcriptions, without trial and conviction of offences known by laws previouſly eſtabliſhed declaring the offence and preſcribing the penalty.

* *Coke upon Magna Charta, Chap.* 22, *Page* 50.

This is a dictate of natural juſtice, and a fundamental principle of law and liberty.

Nothing is more common than for a free people, in times of heat and violence, to gratify momentary paſſions, by letting into the government, principles and precedents which afterwards prove fatal to themſelves. Of this kind is the doctrine of diſqualification, diſfranchiſement and baniſhment by acts of legiſlature. The dangerous conſequences of this power are manifeſt. If the legiſlature can diſfranchiſe any number of citizens at pleaſure by general deſcriptions, it may ſoon confine all the votes to a ſmall number of partizans, and eſtabliſh an ariſtocracy or an oligarchy; if it may baniſh at diſcretion all thoſe whom particular circumſtances render obnoxious, without hearing or trial, no man can be ſafe, nor know when he may be the innocent victim of a prevailing faction. The name of liberty applied to ſuch a government would be a mockery of common ſenſe.

The Engliſh Whigs, after the revolution, from an overweening dread of Popery and the Pretender, from triennial, voted the parliament ſeptennial.—They have been trying ever ſince to undo this falſe ſtep in vain, and are repenting the effects of their folly in the over-grown power of the new family. Some imprudent Whigs among us, from reſentment to thoſe who have taken the oppoſite ſide (and many of them from worſe motives) would corrupt the principles of our government, and furniſh precedents for future uſurpations on the rights of the community.

Let the people beware of ſuch Counſellors.—However, a few deſigning men may riſe in conſequence, and advance their private intereſts by ſuch expedients, the people, at large, are ſure to be the loſers in the event whenever they ſuffer a departure from the rules of general and equal juſtice or from the true principles of univerſal liberty.

Theſe men, not only overleap the barriers of the conſtitution without remorſe, but they adviſe us to become the ſcorn of nations, by violating the ſolemn engagements of the United States. They endeavour to mould the Treaty with Great-Britain, into ſuch form as pleaſes them, and to make it mean any thing or nothing as ſuits their views.—They tell us, that all the ſtipulations, with reſpect to the Tories, are merely that Congreſs will recommend, and the States may comply or not as they pleaſe.

But let any man of ſenſe and candour read the Treaty, and it will ſpeak for itſelf. The fifth article is indeed recommendatory; but the ſixth is as poſitive as words can make it. "*There ſhall be* "no future confiſcations made, nor proſecutions "commenced againſt any perſon or perſons, for, or "by reaſon of the part which he or they may have "taken in the preſent war, and no perſon ſhall, "on that account, ſuffer any future loſs or damage, "either in his perſon, liberty, or property."

As to the reſtoration of confiſcated property which is the ſubject of the fifth article, the ſtates may reſtore or not as they think proper, becauſe Congreſs engage only to recommend; but there is not a word about recommendation in the ſixth article.

Quotations are made from the debates in Parliament to prove that the whole is underſtood as recommendatory; but the expreſſions in thoſe quotations, turn altogether upon thoſe perſons who have been actually proſcribed and their property confiſcated; they have no relation to thoſe who come under the ſixth article, or who might be the objects of future proſecution or puniſhment. And to this it may be added, that it is abſurd and inadmiſſible in fair reaſoning, to combat the plain and authentic language of ſolemn treaty by looſe recitals of debates in news-papers.

The ſound and ingenuous conſtructions of the two articles taken collectively, are theſe—that where the property of any perſons, other than thoſe who have been in arms againſt the United States, had been actually confiſcated and themſelves proſcribed, there Congreſs are to recommend a reſtoration of eſtates, rights and properties; and with reſpect to thoſe who had been in arms, they are to recommend permiſſion for them to remain a twelvemonth in the country to ſolicit a like reſtoration: But with reſpect to all thoſe who were not in this ſituation, and who had not already been the objects of confiſcation and baniſhment, they were to be abſolutely ſecured from all future injury to perſon, liberty, or property.

To ſay that this exemption from poſſitive injury, does not imply a right to live among us as citizens, is a pitiful ſophiſtry; it is to ſay that the baniſhment of a perſon from his country, connexions, and reſources (one of the greateſt puniſhments that can befall a man) is no puniſhment at all.

The meaning of the word *liberty* has been conteſted. Its true ſenſe muſt be the enjoyment of the common privileges of ſubjects under the ſame government. There is no middle line of juſt conſtruction between this ſenſe and a mere exemption from perſonal impriſonment! If the laſt were adopted the ſtipulation would become nugatory; and by depriving thoſe who are the ſubjects of it, of the protection of government, it would amount to a virtual confiſcation and baniſhment; for they could not have the benefit of the laws againſt thoſe who ſhould be aggreſſors.

Should it be ſaid that they may receive protection without being admitted to a full enjoyment of the privileges of citizens, this muſt be either matter of right under the treaty, or matter of grace in the government. If the latter, the government may refuſe it, and then the objection preſents itſelf, that the treaty would by this conſtruction be virtually defeated; if matter of right, then it follows that more is intended by the word liberty than a mere exemption from impriſonment, and where ſhall the line be drawn—not a capricious and arbitrary line, but one warranted by rational and legal conſtruction?

To ſay that by eſpouſing the cauſe of Great-Britain they became aliens, and that it will ſatisfy the treaty to allow them the ſame protection to which aliens are entitled—is to admit that ſubjects may at pleaſure renounce their allegiance to the ſtate of which they are members, and devote themſelves to a foreign juriſdiction; a principle contrary to law and ſubverſive of government. But even this will not ſatisfy the treaty; for aliens cannot hold real property under our government; and if they are aliens, all their real eſtate belongs to the public. This will be to all intents and purpoſes, a confiſcation of property. But this is not all, how does it appear that the perſons who are thus to be ſtripped of their citizenſhip, have been guilty of ſuch an adherence to the enemy, as in legal contemplation amounts to a crime. Their merely remaining in their poſſeſſions under the power of the conqueror does not imply this; but is executed by the laws and cuſtoms of all civilized nations. To adjudge them culpable, they muſt firſt be tried and convicted; and this the treaty forbids. Theſe are the difficulties involved, by recurring to ſubtle and evaſive inſtead of ſimple and candid conſtruction, which will teach us that the ſtipulations in the treaty, amount to an amneſty and act of oblivion.

There is a very ſimple and concluſive point of view in which this ſubject may be placed. No citizen can be deprived of any right which the citizens in general are entitled to, unleſs forfeited by ſome offence. It has been ſeen that the regular and conſtitutional mode of aſcertaining whether this forfeiture has been incurred, is by legal proceſs, trial and conviction. This *ex vi termini*, ſuppoſes proſecution. Now conſiſtent with the treaty there can be no future proſecution for any thing done on account of the war. Can we then do by act of legiſlature, what the treaty diſables us from doing by

due courſe of law? This would be to imitate the Roman General, who having promiſed Antiochus to reſtore half his veſſels, cauſed them to be ſawed in two before their delivery; or the Platææ, who having promiſed the Thebans to reſtore their priſoners, had them firſt put to death and returned them dead.

Such fraudulent ſubterfuges are juſtly conſidered more odious than an open and avowed violation of treaty.

When theſe poſture-maſters in logic are driven from this firſt ground of the meaning of the treaty; they are forced to that of attacking the right of Congreſs to make ſuch a ſtipulation, and arraigning the impudence of Great-Britain in attempting to make terms for our own ſubjects. But here as every where elſe, they are only ſucceſsful in betraying their narrowneſs and ignorance.

Does not the act of confederation place the excluſive right of war and peace in the United States in Congreſs? Have they not the ſole power of making treaties with foreign nations? Are not theſe among the firſt rights of ſovereignty, and does not the delegation of them to the general confederacy, ſo far abridge the ſovereignty of each particular ſtate? Would not a different doctrine involve the contradiction of *imperium in imperio?* What reaſonable limits can be aſſigned to theſe prerogatives of the union, other than the general ſafety and the *fundamentals* of the conſtitution? Can it be ſaid that a treaty for arreſting the future operation of poſitive acts of legiſlature, and which has indeed no other effect than that of a pardon for paſt offences committed againſt theſe acts, is an attack upon the fundamentals of the ſtate conſtitutions? Can it be denied that the peace which was made, taken collectively, was manifeſtly for the general good; that it was even favourable to the ſolid intereſts of this country, beyond the expectation of the moſt ſanguine? If this cannot be denied; and none can deny it who know either the value of the objects gained by the treaty, or the neceſſity theſe ſtates were under at the time of making peace?—It follows that Congreſs and their Miniſters acted wiſely in making the treaty which has been made; and it follows from this, that theſe ſtates are bound by it, and ought religiouſly to obſerve it.

The *uti poſſidetis, each party to hold what it poſſeſſes*, is the point from which nations ſet out in framing a treaty of peace; if one ſide gives up a part of its accquiſitions, the other ſide renders an equivalent in ſome other way. What is the equivalent given to Great-Britain for all the important conceſſions ſhe has made. She has rendered the capital of this ſtate and its large dependencies. She is to ſurrender our immenſely valuable poſts on the frontier, and to yield to us a vaſt tract of weſtern territory, with one half of the Lakes, by which we ſhall command almoſt the whole fur trade; ſhe renounces to us her claim to the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and admits us a ſhare in the fiſheries, even on better terms than we formerly enjoyed it. As ſhe was in poſſeſſion by right of war of all theſe objects, whatever may have been our original pretenſions to them, they are by the laws of nations to be conſidered as ſo much given up on her part; and what do we give in return? We ſtipulate that there ſhall be no future injury to her adherents among us. How inſignificant the equivalent in compariſon with the acquiſition! A man of ſenſe would be aſhamed to compare them: A man of honeſty, not intoxicated with paſſion, would bluſh to liſp a queſtion of the obligation to obſerve the ſtipulation on our part.

If it be ſaid that Great-Britain has only reſtored to us what ſhe had unjuſtly taken from us, and that therefore we are not bound to make compenſation. —This admits of ſeveral anſwers—Firſt, That the fact is not true, for ſhe has ceded to us a large tract of country to which we had even no plauſible claim: Secondly, That however the principle of the objection might have been proper to prevent our promiſing an equivalent, it comes too late after the promiſe has been made: Thirdly, That as to the external effects of war, the voluntary law of nations knows no diſtinction between the juſtice of the quarrel; but in the treaty of peace puts the contracting parties upon an equal footing; which is a neceſſary conſequence of the independence of nations; for as they acknowledge no common judge, if in concluding peace both parties were not to ſtand upon the ſame ground of right, there never could be an adjuſtment of differences or an end of war. This is a ſettled principle.

Let us examine the pretext upon which it is diſputed. Congreſs, ſay our political jugglers, have no right to meddle with our internal police. They would be puzzled to tell what they mean by the expreſſion. The truth is, it has no definite meaning; for it is impoſſible for Congreſs to do a ſingle act which will not directly or indirectly affect the internal police of every ſtate. When in order to procure privileges of commerce to the citizens of theſe ſtates in foreign countries, they ſtipulate a reciprocity of privileges here, does not ſuch an admiſſion of the ſubjects of foreign countries to certain rights within theſe ſtates operate, immediately upon their internal police? And were this not done, would not the power of making commercial treaties veſted in congreſs, become a mere nullity? In ſhort if nothing was to be done by Congreſs that would affect our internal police, in the large ſenſe in which it has been taken, would not all the powers of the confederation be annihilated and the union diſolved.

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

LISBON, *October* 4.

LE Nan dos Quintos, the ſhip which makes the annual voyage to Rio Janeiro, entered this port yeſterday. She brought eleven millions in gold, a great quantity of diamonds, and two millions of piaſtres for the Spaniards: This laſt mentioned ſum will of courſe be tranſported to Cadiz.

The Emperor has erected a commiſſion of war in this city, and orders are received for providing the magazines of Hungary with all kinds of neceſſary proviſions and forage, ſufficient for an army of 100,000 men.

LONDON, *November* 15.

The laſt accounts that have arrived at Paris from Conſtantinople, mention, that the Comte de St. Prieſt makes his appearance in public twice a week; when he goes to the Divan he is attended by above two thouſand French gentlemen, dreſſed in blue, and forming a moſt brilliant cavalcade.—This magnificent train attracts an immenſe multitude, who follow them with the loudeſt acclamations. Baron Herbert, the internuncio from Vienna, has frequent interviews with the Comte, but neither his Excellency, nor Mr. Bulgakow, are any longer admitted into the Grand Seignior's preſence. Notwithſtanding which the Grand Vizer dines very often at the French Ambaſſador's, in company with Sir R. Amſley, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, and the Imperial Miniſters. The people ſtill talk of peace, and of the means of eſtabliſhing it. The troops from Dearbeck, Syria, Meſopotamia, Africa and Egypt, have been ſent back. One hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers, among which are thirty thouſand horſe, are diſtributed in the poſts and intrenchments at Bulgaria, Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Boſnia, and Baſſarabia; this laſt mentioned province appears now nothing better than a large and melancholy waſte. The Turks have entirely deſtroyed every thing that was in it. Should the Ruſſians who are entered into a campaign, and who, after 5 or 6 days march, muſt be at a diſtance from any rivers, meet with the Ottomans, and loſe their proviſions and water in a ſkirmiſh, they muſt inevitably become the victims of hunger and thirſt in that horrible deſart.

Some very material alterations have already taken place in the King's yards; and among others that are intended, it is propoſed to take away from the ſhipwrights the accuſtomed perquiſite of chips wholly, by allowing them for them, from which it is calculated, that near 20,000l. may be ſaved annually in the article of timber.

The Royal Sovereign man of war, now finiſhing in Plymouth dock, is after the new French plan, to have four tiers of guns, by a battery on the gangway, between the forecaſtle and the quarter deck. She will mount in this way 112 guns.

Nov. 26. By his Majeſty's deſire, the ingenious Monſieur Argene, a Pruſſian, had invented, one of theſe celebrated air balloons, and on Tueſday, about noon, the whole apparatus was brought into the Queen's garden at Windſor, in nearly the following order: A large tub, of about 5 feet diameter, about one third filled with water, and in that a cloſe veſſel of a conſiderable leſs ſize; near to theſe were placed a large table, on which were placed ſeveral bottles, ſuppoſed to contain a variety of chymical preparations, and with them (the wonder of the world) the air balloon, which bore an exact reſemblance of a bladder that was void of air or water. The proceſs began by pouring the different liquids in the caſk, and according to the degree of the internal fermentation, the artiſt kept conſtantly watering the outſide of the caſk, to prevent its catching fire from the heat of the inſide. The latter part of his practice was to knock with his knuckle againſt the veſſel, and ſuppoſing it to be in a proper ſtate for the performance of the wonder of wonders, he inſtantly applied a tube that led to the (as yet) empty ſubſtance, which, in a ſhort ſpace of time ſwelled out to the extent of two feet diameter; a turn-cock was placed about the center, between the globe and the caſk, which was firſt turned to convey the air into the balloon, and turned off to prevent its being too much filled with the vivid air. As ſoon as the buſineſs had gone thus far, a ſtring was fixed with a running knot near to the balloon and cloſed faſt, and the tube cut away from the veſſel. His Majeſty then took hold of the ſtring, and in proportion as he gave it ſcope, or pulled it down, the ball raiſed or returned. The King finding it ſo manageable, went under the window where the Queen and Dutcheſs of Portland ſat, and gave the globe a ſcope of the ſtring, till it roſe to the height of the window, and there kept it in poiſe for a conſiderable time; from thence he went to the window where the Princeſs Royal, Princeſs Auguſta Sophia, and Princeſs Elizabeth were, and let it up again, then brought it down, and taking it on his hand, ſaid, "Now it goes!" It accordingly aſcended in a perpendicular manner for upwards of three minutes, the eddying winds cauſing a viſible confuſion in its progreſs for about a minute in that ſituation; it then, for about two minutes more, made a moſt rapid riſe, and made a ſeeming reverſion of its inclination; then having taken a ſoutherly courſe, it was loſt to the ſight of the ſpectators, who were greater on the occaſion than what could have been poſſibly imagined.

The reſolution of their High Mightineſſes not to ſuffer the citizens to be armed, but to truſt the internal ſafety of the States to the military power, has occaſioned great diſcontent among the people, and advanced the popularity of the proteſting member near as much as that of Van Berkel three years ago.

Dec. 1. On Friday evening, about nine o'clock, the celebrated Paul Jones arrived in town from Paris, with diſpatches from the American Congreſs, for his Excellency John Adams, Eſquire. Mr. Jones was only 22 days on his paſſage from Philadelphia to France; and after delivering his diſpatches on Friday evening, he ſet out the next morning at three o'clock, for Paris, to proceed from thence to America.

Dec. 2. The call of the Houſe (ſays a correſpondent) will conſiderably increaſe Mr. Fox's majority, by bringing up the country gentlemen, who hold commercial Nabob and Rajah plunderers in utter abhorrence.

Dec. 15. In conſequence of the authentic information communicated by Tueſday's Gazette, nothing could exceed the indignation of the impartial public, at the miſerable deception which had been attempted by the faction who write in behalf of the Eaſt-India delinquents. What a picture of diſcord, rapine and confuſion! Settlement againſt ſettlement! Generals accuſing their armies! Governors accuſing their Generals! The King's troops and thoſe of the Company at open enmity! The Princes of the country breaking treaties with us after our own example! Towns taken and ſold again! Commanders holding up treaſures and jewels to the eyes of their ſoldiers, and then falling to loggerheads about dividing the booty! While Tippo, with an hundred thouſand fighting men, is carrying all before him, and appears indeed likely to prove the deciſive avenger of his country.

O wretched ignoble Britain! Thy ſun of glory begins to ſet indeed! Thy weſtern empire is gone! Ireland has deſerted thee, and now a few cant words and a little popular jargon is to fright us from attempting to ſave the one jewel we have left! The ſingle prop of our declining greatneſs! And the only remaining reſource, from which the ſhattered revenues of this country can look for a diſtant relief. But, thank the fortune of the day, there is ſomething of vigour and determination in our Miniſters. Let them proceed with firmneſs, notwithſtanding the clamour of culprits, and the tricks of faction; the nation is with them. Let the men whom they name to execute their plan be worthy of the confidence of the public, and they will fix themſelves in the hearts of all true Engliſhmen.

Dec. 18. *The laſt accounts from America ſay, that Congreſs found great difficulty in making the army an adequate ſatisfaction for their late ſervices in the field; part of the officers inſiſting violently on half pay, while others were as ſtrenuous for a commutation, but with neither of which the States ſeemed either able or willing to comply. After a more ſerious and cool deliberation, it was propoſed, that the States ſhould raiſe a fund for the immediate payment of all arrears due to the army, with which they ought to reſt contented, as men who have taken the field in defence of their rights and liberties, in which they had ſo honorably ſucceeded, and not as mercenaries fighting for pay. The event of this propoſal is not yet known.*

Dec. 20. *To prevent the public from being deceived by the various liſts that will probably be handed about this day, reſpecting the new adminiſtration, we can aſſure our readers from unqueſtionable authority, that the following are the only arrangements that were decided upon at one o'clock this morning, viz.*

Mr. W. Pitt, firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Thurlow, Chancellor; Lord Gower, Preſident of Council; Lord Temple and Lord Sydney, Secretaries of State; Lord Howe, firſt Lord of the Admiralty.

To the above it is imagined will be added, D. of Richmond, Maſt. Gen. of Ordnance; Lord Weymouth, Privy Seal; Mr. Dundas (late Advocate) Treaſurer of the Navy; Sir G. Yonge, Paymaſter of the Forces; Mr. Jenkinſon, Secretary at War; Lord Grantley, Chancellor to the Dutchy of Lancaſter; Mr. Kenyon, Attorney-General; Mr. Pepper Arden, Solicitor-General.

Lord Shelburne was ſent to by the King, but has yet given no deciſive anſwer. Lord Cambden declares himſelf friendly to the new Miniſtry, yet refuſes to accept any office whatever.

Parliament will certainly be diſſolved, but not till Tueſday night or Wedneſday morning; the land tax

bill must pass before such an event takes place, or the nation become bankrupt, and the public annuities are payable on the 5th of next month, and the treasury without this parliamentary aid, be found penniless! Mr. Fox's party, aware of this, were determined to avail themselves of their majority so far, as to go into a "committee on the state of the nation," before the said bill should pass, knowing that the dissolution of Parliament would otherwise deprive them of the opportunity of declaring more fully to the world their sentiments on a late extraordinary event.

The discovery of a certain peer's (Lord Temple) privy conference with a certain personage (the King) arose, no doubt, from his Lordship's letter to the Duke of Dorset, at Paris, the contents of which being seen there by Lord Malden, were communicated with all possible dispatch to one of Lord Malden's friends in Administration.

Mr. Fox's levee on Thursday night in St. James's palace, was attended by 180 members of the Lower House, who pledged themselves to unite in a future confederacy in support of the rights of the Commons House of Parliament, against all unconstitutional encroachments.

So much does the heir-apparent feel himself interested in the cause of Mr. Fox, that he has openly declared, that though St. James's be barred against him, Carleton-House shall always be open for his reception, and that of his political associates.

The Prince of Wales entering the court-yard of St. James's, on Thursday, and driving out again without attending the levee, discovered a pique of too marked a kind, not to give the most sensible uneasiness to certain royal minds.

On Sunday last, from about ten o'clock in the morning, to one o'clock mid-day, the city of Amsterdam was inveloped in such a thick fog, as was never remembered to have been seen by any man. Every thing was in confusion, as no body could distinguish the road he walked in. Many unhappy accidents happened. Several persons and some carriages had the misfortune to fall into the canals. As yet we have not learned all the fatal consequences of this accident, but it is feared that all Holland has been in the same situation.

BOSTON, *February* 26.

When we read the accounts of the late disturbances, and very high-handed outrages, beween the two parties, called the Vermonteers and the Yorkers, and observe the political conduct of the contending powers, what good and benevolent mind is not filled with anxious concern for the public welfare? they have already prohibited each other's inhabitants the benefit of their respective laws, so far as relates to the recovery of debts. On one hand we see Governor Clinton, in his speech to the General Assembly of the State of New-York, on the 21st of last month, recommending "organizing of the militia, and such provisions for magazines and military stores, as are necessary, as well for their own defence and security, as a due compliance with the terms of their constitution and the confederation. And on the other hand, we see the Legislature of Vermont (for a legislature they are *ipso facto*, if not *de jure*) adopting measures of a similar complexion. In such a situation, how imminently are they exposed to the most fatal civil dissention?

O ye wise and good! Now is the time, by your moderate and judicious councils, to render your country the most essential services, by pointing out healing and conciliatory measures, for removing the growing disease, which will otherwise be attended with greater and more fatal consequences than many are aware of.——This matter surely ought to attract the serious and immediate attention of Congress, and of the Legislatures of all the States in the union, that it may be known what sentiments are entertained by the public in general, respecting the independence and separate legislation of the territory of Vermont.

PROVIDENCE, *January* 31.

The Public are cautioned to beware of counterfeit orders, signed with the name of Robert Morris, some counterfeits of that kind (of the value of fifteen dollars) having been lately detected here. They may be easily distinguished from the true, as the words NATIONAL DEBT, which are wrought in the paper of the true orders, are wanting in the counterfeits.

NEW-HAVEN, *February* 25.

Thursday the 29th of January, the Lower House of Assembly came to a vote respecting the impost recommended by Congress, when the yeas and nays being required, they were as follow: Yeas 37. Nays 69.

NEW-YORK, *March* 4.

A meeting of the Stockholders of the Massachusetts bank, is called the 18th instant, for the purpose of choosing twelve directors; and to agree on any rules, orders, or laws, and transact any other business they may think fit.

A letter from Port-Roseway mentions, "That such scenes of misery have been exhibited there this winter as would make the fibutest heart bleed. This war began in iniquity, and ended in infamy, is the rock we have split upon."

PHILADELPHIA March 2.

On Sunday the 22d ult. sailed from New-York, the ship Empress of China, Captain John Green of this port, for Canton in China. On passing the garrison at Fort-George, she fired, with great regularity, the United States salute, which was returned from the fort. This handsome, commodious and elegant ship modelled after, and built on the new invented construction of the ingenious Mr. Peck of Boston, is deemed an exceeding swift sailer. The Captain and crew, with several young American adventurers, were all happy and cheerful, in good health and high spirits: and, with a becoming decency, elated on being considered the first instruments, in the hands of Providence, who have undertaken to extend the commerce of the United States of America to that distant, and to us unexplored country.

March 9. The Charlestown Packet, Capt. Allibone, arrived off our capes about a week ago, after a very disagreeable passage of 20 days, from Charlestown. As provision had not been made for so long a passage, they were put to some difficulty in that respect, which, added to the severe weather, caused uncommon hardships during the voyage. The excessive cold felt during the winter in this quarter and to the northward, has also prevailed, in some degree, in the southern States, it having produced ice in the harbour of Charlestown strong enough for skating on, which is very uncommon there. Large quantities of the ice made on our coast have been drove out to sea, great bodies of it having been seen ten leagues out by the Charlestown.

A late London print gives us the following information:—"That a discovery has lately been made in France of the greatest importance to the marine. It is a metallic preparation for sheathing ships, which is liable to none of the inconveniences resulting from copper sheathing. The marine acid has no effect on it, nor is it liable to wear out; it is a soft paste, and perfectly flexible; but not elastic, and no violence of the sea can strip it off, as it forms one inseparable body with the substance it covers. This same gentleman has likewise invented a metallic varnish, which thoroughly penetrates nails, or other iron work on which it is laid, so as to prevent rust and the ill effects of the nitrous and marine acid. it is added, that nails thus prepared, cannot be drawn without tearing the wood. The French government, after repeated trials, have adopted these inventions, and established a royal manufacture for these preparations at Nantes."

BALTIMORE, *March* 5.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Boston to his friend here, dated the 1st of February, 1784.

"I advise your attention to the inspection of flour, as great complaints are made against much which arrives from your port, stamp'd, which is not merchantable; it is an evil that must be remedied, and I fear it is not to be done but by your application to authority; and if some steps are not taken to prevent it, the reputation of your market will be wholly ruined, and Philadelphia reap the benefit."

ARRIVALS.—In the River Thames, (England) the Marian, Annen, from Carolina; the Nancy, Newman, and Dendermond, Codner, from Virginia; and the Success, M'Millan, from New-York. —At Liverpool, the Virginia, Askew, from Virginia.

ANNAPOLIS March 18.

The following vessels are arrived at this port: Ship Cato, Captain Topham, from Martinico; ship Olive Branch, Captain Thomas Patten, from Liverpool; brig Isabella, Captain Gardner, from St. Kitt's; brig Nesbit, Captain Stansbury, from the Havanna; brig Dispatch, Captain Allen, from Guadaloupe; ship Carolina, Captain Angus, from London; brig Eclipse, Captain Coward, from London; and several sloops and schooners whose names are unknown.

ALEXANDRIA, *March* 25.

On Monday Evening last the Brigantine Ranger, Capt. Peabody, arived here from St. Martin's. ——In Lat. 35: 50, being in Sight of Land, he spoke the Ship ——, Capt. Samuel Young (belonging to Mr. Samuel Wilcox in Philadelphia) from Cadiz, who attempted to get into the Delaware, but was prevented by the Ice: Being a long Time out, and his Provisions exhausted, he was obliged to bear away for Charlestown.

By the Brigantine Fortitude, Captain Gardner which arrived here a few Days ago, from Demarara, which Place he left the 8th of last Month, we are informed that a few Days before he sailed there arrived a Dutch Man of war in order to take Possession of that Place:—That it was currently reported that all the Islands had been given up.

On Thursday Evening last, the Anniversary of Sheelah, the Sons of St. Patrick, actuated by that generous Principle that ever distinguished them, gave a Ball at Mr. Lomax's Tavern that afforded universal Satisfaction.

On Sunday, the 22d of last Month, departed this Life, in Prince-George's County, Maryland, much lamented by his numerous Friends, Col. THOMAS WILLIAMS; a Gentleman who was justly esteemed for his Integrity, Candour, and Benevolence of Heart.

NAVAL-OFFICE. ALEXANDRIA.

Inward Entries. Schooner Enterprize, Capt. Henderson, and Schooner Polly and Sally, from Eastern-Shore; Brig Ranger, Capt. Peabody, St. Martin's; Sloop Polly, Capt. Engerfol, Glouceſter.

Cleared Outwards. Brig Ann, Capt. Jackson, for London; Brig Maria Juliana, Capt. Knape, and Sloop Diligence, Capt. Miller, Leghorn; Schooner Polly and Sally, Maryland.

Messieurs PRINTERS,

Please to publish the following easy and probable Method of bringing a Vineyard to Perfection in Virginia:

PROCURE grafts from a true wine grape-vine, and ingraft them on the wild grape-vine, which is natural to this climate and soil.—I have taken grafts from a wild grape-vine and ingrafted them on the same, and find that a vine may be ingrafted as well as an apple-tree.—The best time to ingraft is when the vine is budded. A.

THE Vestry of St. John's Parish will meet at Broad-Creek Church on Monday the 12th of April next, when they will let to the lowest Bidder the Repairs to be made on the Churches of the said Parish.

March 23, 1784.

FOR SALE,

A NEGRO MAN, about 35 years of age, an excellent servant with good looking after; he understands driving either carriage or waggon well, is a good gardiner, and is well skilled in any sort of domestic business.—Also his Wife, a valuable, healthy Woman, about 30 years of age, is a good dairy woman, and very handy on a plantation.—Ready money, tobacco, or officer's certificates, will be received in payment.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

Colchester, March 23, 1784.

TO BE SOLD,

At Public Sale, in the Town of Alexandria, on Monday the 19th of April next, being Fairfax Court-Day,

AN undivided fourth part of two LOTS of Land in said town, containing upwards of three quarters of an acre, extending on the River Potomack to the east, and on Water-Street to the west one hundred and seventy-six feet seven inches, subject to a ground-rent of thirty-nine pounds ten shillings per annum.——These Lots are advantageously situated for carrying on business in the mercantile line.——Twelve months credit will be given to the purchaser, on giving bond with approved security, to carry interest from the date, if not punctually paid when it becomes due.

WILLIAM HERBERT.

March 17, 1784.

Chatham, March 10, 1784.

TRUEWHIG will cover mares the ensuing season, at the usual price of Four Pounds, the money to be sent with the mare, or a bond payable in July next, with interest from the date if not punctually discharged.—— Pasturage will be found (gratis) for mares that come from a distance, and every possible care shall be taken of them; but if any accident or escape should happen I will not be answerable.

TRUEWHIG was got by the noted horse Regulus, who was the sire of Chatham, out of the imported dam of Apollo; and is now in high perfection.

I have two full-blooded COLTS for sale, 2 and 3 years old next May, for which I will take cash, tobacco, or officer's certificates.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH.

JUST IMPORTED, and TO BE SOLD, by

ROBERT DICK,

By the Quantity or Package,

A Parcel of IRON WARE, consisting of NAILS, HOES, AXES, &c.

Bladensburg, March 19, 1784.

To be Sold by Public Sale, on Tuesday the 18th of May next, if not sold before by private Sale,

A *LOT of GROUND, on Wolf-Street, 32 feet front and 152 feet deep, on the front of which there is a good Log Stable, 20 by 32 feet.—Said Lot may be divided if suitable to the Purchaser.—The Conditions are, one third of the purchase-money to be paid on receiving the deed, one third in six months after, and the remaining third in twelve months from the day of sale.* THOMAS FLEMING.

Alexandria, March 17.

POETRY.

WISDOM and FOLLY.
A FABLE.

"*WISDOM and Folly, on a day,*
By chance met each upon the way;
After some compliments were past,
Minerva thus held forth at last:—
For shame! leave off this wicked way,
Mankind no longer lead astray.
Behave more decent, 'tis your duty,
Prudence should always deal with beauty.
Good lack! Miss Prue (cry'd frisky Folly)
What's gain'd by being melancholy,
By preaching sermons of morality,
Or calling fashion prodigality?
Go, bid the rich relieve the poor,
And drive the wolf from hunger's door;
Turn off th' unnecessary page,
Lay down the flaunting equipage;
Leave routs and balls, and cards and dice,
And every other thing called Vice.
Go! preach I say, but mark my dear,
You'll not find one to lend an ear;
I'll bet you odds, in half an hour,
My single voice, my single power,
Shall gain more converts to my side,
Than you in twenty years beside,
Agreed, Minerva soon replied,
Th' experiment shall strait be tried.
In a large temple, to the crowd
Thus wisdom first began aloud:
Mortals attend! 'tis Wisdom speaks,
Wisdom, who all your goodness seeks;
Wisdom alone can make you blest,
Wisdom gives peace, and love and rest;
No more be seen in Folly's train,
Folly will only work your bane;
Wisdom shall still your paths protect.
—Much more she spoke to this effect,
When Folly bursting from the throng,
Humming a soft Italian song,
Then roll'd her head, and cock'd her eye,
And cry'd my dear! well let me die;
What you have said was vastly clever,
What you should be chronicled for ever.
And should be chronicled for ever.
But now good people!—let me see!
I'll march—aye, that will do for me.
Allons! *away she took her flight,*
While all pursued with great delight;
To follow ev'ry one thought meet,
And left poor Wisdom in the street.

GREAT EVENTS from LITTLE CAUSES.

"TWO men of the very lowest condition, the one a Genoese, and the other a Venetian, who were no other than porters to the merchants, fell out about a bale of goods which was to be carried: From words they came to blows. The merchants, who at first gathered round them only by way of amusement to see the battle, at length took part in the quarrel, each assisting their countryman. They grew warm, and fought together; so that much blood was spilt and a deal of damage done on both sides. Complaints were soon carried to Genoa and Venice. The Magistrates of each Republic agreed, that satisfaction should be made for the damage according to the estimation of the several arbitrators appointed for that purpose. The Genoese being condemned to make a more considerable reparation than the Venetians, delayed to furnish what was demanded. The Venetians, piqued at the unfaithfulness of the Genoese, resolved to do themselves justice; and having surprized all the Genoese vessels, which were in the port of Acre, set them on fire. The Genoese would have retaliated this injury on the Venetians, but the latter were on their guard, and prevented them; a battle however ensued, much more bloody than the first. Genoa and Venice resolved to support their merchants, they each fitted out a considerable fleet; that of the former was beaten; and the Genoese were obliged to abandon their settlements at Acre: The Venetians razed their houses and forts, and destroyed their magazines. The Genoese, irritated at their defeat, used their utmost efforts to put their fleet again into a condition to attack the Venetians. Every citizen offered to venture his person and fortune to revenge the outrage committed against his country. The Venetians, informed of these preparations, neglected no precautions to oppose them. The sea was covered with ships, an engagement ensued, much blood was spilt, and many brave citizens were lost on both sides. In short, after a long and cruel war, in which the two Republics reaped nothing but shame for having entered into it, they made peace."

A Variety of Blank Books, Sealing-Wax, best Irish Wafers, British Inkpowder, Writing-Paper, &c. to be Sold at the Printing-Office.

Alexandria, March 4, 1784.

THE Subscriber has for Sale, in this Town, sundry LOTS, or Parcels of GROUND, on several Streets, and well situated.

WILLIAM RAMSAY.

TO BE SOLD,

And a reasonable Time given for Payment,

SIX Hundred and Forty Acres of LAND, lying in Hampshire County, Virginia, situate on Capecapon-River, which runs through it, and abounds with fine trout, &c. and on the premises are all kinds of game—two hundred acres of which are well calculated for meadow, about one hundred cleared and under good fence, a great part of it fresh and in good order for corn, hemp, or tobacco; there are on the premises, a tolerable dwelling-house, a large and commodious new barn, and other out-houses, a good bearing orchard of excellent fruit; it is well calculated for stock, as well on account of the quantity of meadow that is made, as its situation for an excellent range equally good on both sides of the said river, and very extensive; the land is generally very level, well timbered and watered with divers springs, and on the great road leading from Alexandria, Dumfries, and Fredericksburg, to Pittsburg and the Western Settlements, and within 20 miles of the borough of Winchester, which is thought to be the most healthy situation, and the best for trade of any inland town on the Continent.——Also to be sold, at public vendue, on the first Tuesday in May next, in the borough aforesaid, a large STONE HOUSE, situate on the main street, well calculated for public or private business, and was formerly a Tavern, known by the name of the Red Cooper's Tavern; it has an arched cellar under the whole, a good kitchen and smoke-house, two stables and other out-houses, with an excellent draw-well.——Likewise will be sold at the same time another DWELLING-HOUSE, of about 50 feet front, adjoining the Stone House, suitable for a tavern or store.——The purchaser will be indulged to pay £. 250 of the purchase-money at £. 50 per annum; and the houses will rent from 80 to £. 100 per year. For particulars, apply to the Subscriber in Winchester.

PATRICK MURRAY.

March 11, 1784.

TO BE SOLD,

A Valuable PLANTATION, in the County of Loudon, whereon the late ANDREW ADAM *lived, containing about* 600 *acres, situated between Goose-Creek and Leesburg, about three miles from the latter, and convenient to four merchant mills; and has on it a very good stream, on which was formerly a merchant mill, but suffered to go down for want of repair.——There are cleared and in grass about 70 acres of very good meadow, which for sometime past has been neglected, but may easily be put in good order; about two thirds of the place is cleared, and in good order for wheat or other small grain; also 400 very fine bearing fruit-trees, equal to any in the State, either for keeping or cyder, twenty or thirty hogsheads of which may be made yearly, as there is a good cyder mill, and the orchard seldom fails bearing; there is a good framed barn on the premises, and no other improvements of consequence, so the purchaser may for them form his own plan; the situation is pleasant and healthy, and has a spring of very fine water thereon.—One third of the purchase-money will be expected on confirming the bargain, and a reasonable time allowed for the other two thirds, on giving bond with security, and paying interest regularly.—The premises may be viewed by applying to Mr.* FRANCIS ELGIN, *at present on the place; and for further particulars, inquire of the the Subscriber, living near Alexandria.*

ROBERT ADAM.

Aleaxndria, Feb. 24, 1784.

JAMES ADAM,

HAS for sale coarse and fine Ship Bread, of a good quality, and fine Bread in small cags, for the West-India market, with which he can supply any Masters of vessels and others with large or small quantities, on reasonable terms for ready Money.—He has also for sale, old Jamaica Spirits of the first quality, either by the gallon or quarter cask; imported Grindstones, fit for plantation use; Liverpool and Allum Salt.—He will allow a generous price to any Millers or others for good middling Flour.—He has three Rooms in the Public Warehouse, on the County-Wharf, to let, either by the Month or Year.

Alexandria, March 3.

TO BE SOLD,

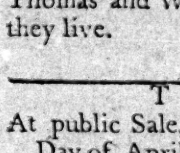
A Valuable NEGRO WENCH, *about 18 years of Age, has had one child, is very stout and hearty, and fit for house or plantation work.—— Corn, wheat, flour, tobacco or cash, will be received in payment, and credit given till the first of November next.——Inquire of*

ROBERT ADAM.

Alexandria, Feb. 24, 1784.

I HAVE just arrived in the Ship Thomison, from London, a very large cargo of Goods, (which will be sold, by the package or piece, at my stores in Tappahannock and Fredericksburg) among which are about 20 chariots, post-chaises, phaetons, French bur and Cologne millstones, a large assortment of music and music-books, a variety of mahogany furniture, glasses, a great variety of pickles, blank books, silks, French grammars, cordage, and anchors of all sizes.

ARCHIBALD M'CALL.



THE Ship THOMISON will take in TOBACCO for LONDON, at £. 8 Sterling per Ton, to be delivered alongside.—It is expected she will sail among the first Ships.—Apply to

A. M'CALL.

Tappahannock, Feb. 1, 1784.

Chatham, Feb. 26, 1784.

IN January last I advertised sundry Financier's Notes, payable in six months from the 28th of October last, to *Edward Carrington*, or bearer, of the following numbers and denominations:

No.	Dollars.	No.	Dollars.	No.	Dollars.
38	50	11	50	2	50
39	100	12	100	3	100
40	20	4	20	7	20
41	50	5	50	8	50
42	100	6	100	9	100
10	20	1	20		

Which I either lost in the city of Richmond, or had taken out of my pocket on the 22d of December last.——I have it now in proof, that they have lately been negociated in the State of Maryland by two men, who passed by the names of John Thomas, and Wyatt Davis, and said they came from Virginia: They were seen by two Gentlemen in company with Mr. Philip Melton, of Maryland, of whom they purchased a horse, at the extravagant price of 170 dollars, and paid for him with three of the abovementioned notes; also another of one Roberts, a tavern-keeper, on the Frederick-Town road.——I hereby offer a Reward of FIFTY DOLLARS to any person who will deliver them to JAMES HUNTER, Esq; of Fredericksburg, Col. EDWARD CARRINGTON in Richmond, or to the Subscriber, or in proportion for a part of them——I shall also consider it as an act of Friendship if any person, acquainted with the above named John Thomas and Wyatt Davis, will inform me where they live.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH.

TO BE SOLD,

At public Sale, in Dumfries, on Monday the 5th Day of April next, being Prince William Court-Day,

A TRACT of LAND, on Occoquan River, containing about 150 acres, with a good Merchant Mill thereon, known by the name of Bland's Mill, now grinding and in good order, with two water-wheels and two pair of stones, bolters, &c. all in very good order for manufacturing; it is fourteen miles from Dumfries and about twenty-five from Alexandria, and on a never failing stream.—Twelve months credit will be given for one half of the purchase-money.

JOHNSTON SMITH.

Feb. 24, 1784.

Tappahannock, Feb. 1, 1784.

THE UNDERWRITERS of Lloyd's Coffee-House, in London, having appointed me their Agent in the State of Virginia—I give notice to all whom it may concern, That they may know where to apply for delivering up any vessels, cargoes, or goods, which may be damaged, and require to be sold, or repaired, on the said Underwriters account.

ARCHIBALD M'CALL.

N. B. For dispatch, and for the convenience of the trade of Alexandria and that neighbourhood, I shall, on notice, appoint Mr. WILLIAM HUNTER, jun. to act in my absence.

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.

STOLEN out of the Subscriber's shop, on Sunday evening last, the following articles, viz. A superfine olive-coloured cloth COAT, with plated buttons, faced with the same, and the edges not trimmed; seven yards of Irish Linen, eight yards of Sheeting ditto, two dozen and an half of large plain washed Buttons.—Whoever apprehends the thief, so that I get the articles again and he be convicted thereof, shall receive the above Reward; or, for the Coat and Linen, Ten Dollars, and in proportion for any part thereof.

JOHN LONGDEN.

Alexandria, March 3, 1784.

ALEXANDRIA: Printed by GEORGE RICHARDS, and COMPANY, at the Corner of *Fairfax* and *Princess* Streets—by whom *Advertisements, &c.* are thankfully received for this Paper,—and where Printing is performed with Care and Expedition.